

WILMINGTON JOURNAL.

DEVOTED TO POLITICS, THE MARKETS, AGRICULTURE, FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC NEWS, LITERATURE, AND GENERAL INFORMATION.

DAVID FULTON, EDITOR.

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GOD, OUR COUNTRY, AND LIBERTY.

WILMINGTON, N. C., FRIDAY, AUGUST 28, 1846.

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WHOLE NO. 102.

ADDRESS
OF THE
HON. WILLIAM H. HAYWOOD, JR.,
TO THE

PEOPLE OF NORTH CAROLINA

I have never appeared before the public, by myself or otherwise, to write down an accusation against me, but have hitherto chosen to bear unjust rebuke in silence, and rely upon time, and my manner of life, to consign to oblivion the whisperings of the envious and the calumnies of the malignant. I do not affect to conceal, that a departure from this rule gives me much pain; and I am persuaded that if many of my friends did not think that it is a duty I owe to the people not to remain silent, under the recent censure of frenzied partisans, I should leave it, as far as concerns me, to my known character, and the vindicating act which has provoked it, to vindicate the patriotism and purity of my motives; reposing confidently upon the discernment and judgment of an intelligent public, in view of the simple facts as they occurred; and not doubt, that so soon as the occasion had passed by, and there was no longer a necessity for overawing others, who it might have been supposed, were more timid in their purpose, and no chance to deceive the people at the North Carolina elections, by unscrupulous libels against me, my assailants would cease from their "dirty work," and bad men, who measure the motives of the virtuous by a standard of morals which vice has erected in their own bosoms, would go hunting after some fresh victim to gratify their ignoble malice. But I come before you at this time to speak of myself, not of others, and to defend my own faultlessness, not to expose their designs; and I think myself happy that I have the honest people of North Carolina to judge my cause. I invoke no sympathy, I ask no compassion, and I thank God I need them not. But with the proud consciousness of one who has dared to do his duty as a servant of the republic, amidst dangers and trials such as, I trust, are not to grow common in our government, I stand before you to lay claim to the confidence, respect, and approbation of all good men, more especially of those belonging to the democratic party. I feel and know this day, and I will prove even to my enemies, that in my station as a senator, and in retiring from it, I incurred no guilt—I deceived no one—I betrayed no party—I made no sacrifice of your interests, and no surrender of your rights,—none at all, directly or indirectly. And they who have charged the contrary, with all who, from any motive, personal or political, have given to it their aid and countenance, did "bear false witness."

It is true, that on the 25th of July, a few moments before the vote was expected to have been taken on the new tariff bill of 1846, (improperly called "McKay's bill"), I resigned my seat as a senator in Congress, into the hands of North Carolina, to whom it belonged; believing that it was my duty to do it, sooner than cast my vote against my own conscience, for a law that I could not approve, and knowing that it was my perfect right to do it, and that I would be exercising that right in precise accordance with the last written doctrine of the legislature and of the party who elected me. In this only have I offended; and in mainly sincerity, but with that plainness of speech which the humblest man in the community will be able to understand for himself, I proceed to lay before you my explanation.

The subject of the tariff, and the system of laws by which taxes are imposed and collected for the use of the general government throughout the Union, is one of deep importance, but of much intricacy and great difficulty in its judicious arrangement. Soon after taking my seat in the Senate of the United States, (December, 1843,) I for one felt what any man, when he first goes into Congress directly from private life, will be apt to experience, and that was a lack of necessary knowledge and information upon it. With an ambition to learn my duty as a legislator for this great republic, and a fixed determination to pursue it afterwards, I immediately give my whole mind to the study and consideration of this tariff system, well knowing that upon it depended, in a good degree, the chief operations in commerce, agriculture, and manufactures, in the other States as well as ours. During the first session of the last Congress, and after having devoted nearly all my time for some months to this study, I hoped I had made myself qualified, and my political associates believed me fit, to be consulted and counselled with, in our united efforts to arrange a tariff with justice to all sections, and with entire safety to the business, prosperity, harmony, peace, and independence of the Union. To admit that this could not be done, was to declare that the Union cannot be preserved, and the cause of free government had failed.

The democratic senators in particular, concurring as we did then, and do now, with a few exceptions at the north, in a sentiment of opposition to the tariff of 1842, desired to see it changed.

That act was believed to be extreme in its protective character, and therefore unequal and unsatisfactory to large sections of the Union; and our aim was, to modify it by the nearest possible approach to that happy mean between the extreme opinions of such as demand a total abandonment of all protection on one hand, and of those who insist upon protection as a primary object, on the other. I have no doubt that this is the only foundation upon which wise and just legislation can be based, when interests really conflicting are to be affected by the action of the general government. Conferences with each other, and with the chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means of the house of Representatives, [Mr. McKay], were frequently held, as to the best mode of altering and reforming the tariff of 1842. The more eminent men of the democratic party in the Senate, and leading statesmen from different sections of the Union in Congress, took part in the deliberations and investigations which proceeded and accompanied the formation of what was then called and known as "McKay's bill and report," viz: in March, 1844. In the council's whence that bill proceeded, I had the honor to be admitted as an humble and unpretending participant, so that I knew, and it cannot be denied, that quite all the democratic senators from the south and west, and very nearly every one from the north and east, assented to or acquiesced in it. It formed a subject of congratulation, I remember, amongst the members of the party from all sections at that time, (1844,) that the opinions and views

of democrats in the national councils had been thus brought to harmonize in what was not to be a reasonable, prudent, practical measure of legislation upon this subject, which seemed likely to put at rest and settle the tariff dispute. Unfortunately, it did not pass the House of Representatives: I will not stop to state the cause. But, notwithstanding its temporary defeat in that body, the democratic party at once put themselves before the people of the Union upon that bill as a common platform, and it was promulgated as their proposed scheme of reforming the tariff act of 1842. "McKay's report" of 1844 was published and sent forth as the true and authentic interpretation of their views in regard to the change we were afterwards to insist upon.—So I understood it at the time, and ever since, and so have I constantly declared. The bill was named after its author and advocate, (Mr. McKay,) a statesman of North Carolina—a southern man and a democrat. My own opinions in its favor were freely expressed in all my intercourse with you, and they were not unknown in any quarter. The democratic press in North Carolina, without exception, applauded it; the democratic party zealously approved of it throughout our limits. If there was a single one of them who did not, I am yet to learn the fact. Hundreds—not thousands—of the other party in our State gave their approving voices in its favor. Our elections in 1844 and 1845, all of them, were conducted upon that basis, so far as the tariff question entered into them at all. Every intelligent man in the nation knows the fact that the fall elections of 1844, and those in the spring of 1845, throughout the United States, for members of the present Congress were carried on, if not upon the same basis, with a knowledge of that bill and report. The north saw in it a pledge of the south and west that we did not mean to break down and oppress the labor and industry of the north and east; the south saw in it a reasonable concession to their demand for practical free trade; the people every where saw in it the hope for moderate legislation, and the prospect of a permanent arrangement of a question that had been agitating the nation for a quarter of a century; and if your memory still serves you with a recollection of any of the speeches of our candidates for the last legislature of the present Congress, made in North Carolina only a year ago, I beg to know whether it was not uniformly proclaimed that all true democrats were going in favor of "McKay's bill" of 1844! Bear in mind that the "McKay bill" of 1844 and the "McKay bill" of 1846 agree in nothing but the name, as I will show you hereafter.

And what, let me ask, was the result of all this? In the north, as well as in the south and west, the elections to the present Congress ended favorably to the democratic party. A democratic majority of more than sixty were returned to the House of Representatives.—The same party held a majority in the Senate. And a democratic President, nominated after the "McKay bill" of 1844 had been framed and approved by the party, was elected by the votes of States in the north as well as the south; a southern and a western President, whom we could not have elected without the votes of northern States. Of course I cannot undertake to affirm, as a fact, that the northern States which voted for the democratic party were induced to do it by McKay's bill and report of 1844. But this I know, and will say, that it was put forth as a political peace-offering upon the tariff, and that the northern people at once rallied to the support of the party in numbers largely beyond those which had theretofore supported it, and that it was expected by us when that offering was made, that it would conciliate the northern democrats; and I have no doubt that it enlisted the support of thousands who would not have sustained the party without it. Now, then, I put it to the conscience of the people of North Carolina—who I know love all their country, north, south, east, and west—whether, under such circumstances, I was bound to violate my sense of duty, and, contrary alike to this party-pledge and to my own sober judgment as a Senator, to assent to an act which violated and cut out the "McKay bill" of 1844, when there was no public emergency to require it, and no national exigency to excuse it, and that, when I did most confidently believe that the new tariff act of the present Congress was in itself unwise and full of mischief to the republic? Was it my duty to be made now, at the expense of the nation's credit, how could I hesitate?

Second. The tariff of 1842 ought to have been modified, but not by an act which reduced the duties as early as the 1st December. In all great alterations of the tariff diminishing duties, the reductions ought to be made upon reasonable notice to the people, whose property and business will be affected by them. In that case, there may be inconvenience to some, but it does not bring down ruin upon so many innocent people. Not giving notice, infant factories are destroyed by the hand of legislation, and the older and more mature establishments, are compelled to diminish their operations forthwith, and consequently to discharge a number of their laborers and reduce the wages of all. The laborers suffer more than the owners, because they are less able to bear it. The sudden loss of work will be to many of them and their families a loss of food and raiment, and that which the law-maker is commanded to pray for—his "daily bread"—he would be thus rudely taking by law from the workman of his country. And the experimental tariff act was the more objectionable, inasmuch as many of our countrymen—the northern laborers, who are to suffer under it—will be put out of employment in the beginning of winter, when other employments will be obtained with great difficulty; and at the north, the poor, without labor and wages, encounter a degree of suffering, in that inclement season, which we have no just conception of at the south. You must see it, before you can fully appreciate it. Also, a sudden alteration of the tariff must, of necessity, disturb the home market of our manufacturers, coal-diggers and mechanics, and involve hundreds and thousands—in losses to some, ruin to others, and suffering to many.

Even a bad tariff law, then, should not be repealed so as to fall down too hastily, when its gradual-abrogation would create less inconvenience to the government, and its sudden change may oppress the poor, or do injustice to any section. The government ought to have compassion on all the people, and particularly upon the laboring classes. The manufacturers at the north are not all "Abolitionists," whose fortune has been the theme of so many tariff speeches. The compromise tariff act, under General Jackson, in 1833, reduced the duties gradually and periodically for nine years. It gave nine years' notice. This experimental tariff will reduce all the duties upon four months' notice. The latter was harsh, cruel, to the laborer, and unjust to both; and the general welfare did not require it.

Third. The independent treasury, of itself, a great change, the warehousing act, another; and the experimental tariff, the greatest of them all,—will, when taken together, work a total revolution of our financial

system. One at a time they might have been introduced more safely, some of them wisely. But by being so nearly united, as they will be, in the time of their commencement, it is calculated to excite apprehension and alarm. To put them into simultaneous operation, was indeed, a political movement of party, too violent and too potent for good. They will affect all the business of the people most injuriously; and, with a government expenditure of fifty millions, and a revenue under twenty millions, the government itself may be crushed under their combined operation. To attempt it, when the nation was at war abroad, and the government was in the money market, or soon expected there, as a borrower at home, clearly appeared to my mind to be unwise, jeopardizing public credit and private confidence.

Revolutions are seldom reforms, and certainly reforms need not always be revolutions. One must reasonably fear that, without a miracle, such strong measures, acting with their combined power against the existing order of things in the country may create a revolution in trade, pecuniary distress, hard times, popular excitements, and sectional agitations, preceding another contest for the presidency, and do nobody any good, but a few political agitators and rich speculators. I thought they would go very far towards producing an overthrow of the democratic party, if they did not entirely accomplish it. These consequences were too natural not to be apprehended; and the last-mentioned result was openly predicted by some, and probably anticipated by others, of my own friends, who yet voted for the experimental tariff bill, without approving of it. Unless it should be repealed or materially modified, its consequences now, belong to the development of the future; so I need not illustrate the grounds of my conviction by minute statements. Let me test its correctness.

Fourth. In none of the tariff acts of the United States in former years was the industry of our own country burdened by the discriminations made against home manufacturers. Their policy was to build up, and not to destroy—to protect, and not to oppress. And is it not a mistake to suppose that the republican people of North Carolina were at any time hostile to those who are merely because they were "protectionists"? Our hostility was aimed at the extent of the thing, not the thing itself—at extreme protection, not protection *per se*. With here and there an individual exception (for republicans in those days were allowed to differ) I boldly affirm that this was the republican doctrine of our State; and the people will know it to be true, when I remind them that it was precisely the point of our dispute with the nullifiers. They were against protection *out and out*. We, the (Jackson) republican party of North Carolina, in particular, went for incidental protection—moderate protection, by a "judicious" tariff. They were for declaratory, and nullifying it, because it protected manufacturers. We thought it was unjust, because the protection was *extreme*, but not unconstitutional, and that the "Union must be preserved." What the republican party of North Carolina thought then, I thought, and spoke, and wrote.

And coming down to more recent events, let me say, that McKay's bill of 1844 was a tariff of incidental protection, which you and I, and all the democrats in Congress from North Carolina, approved and sustained, and the people of our party, in North Carolina, nowhere opposed last year, and the press of the party defended up to the inauguration afterwards, and even down to the day of the report from the present Secretary of the Treasury. Careful study, longer experience, and closer examination, have confirmed me in the faith of those times, fortified, as it was, by the authority of the administration of Washington, and Jefferson, and Madison, and Monroe, and Jackson, all southern republicans, and southern Presidents. Is consistency treason?

It may be a misfortune to me that I was unable to change with the times, but it would be a crime to deny my faith. To avoid misrepresentation, I give you the words of those wise and eminent and patriotic men. Hear Washington.

Extract of a speech of George Washington, President of the United States, to Congress, January 8, 1790.

"A free people ought not only to be armed, but disciplined, to which end a uniform and well-constructed plan is requisite; and their safety and interest require that they should promote such manufactures as tend to render them independent of others for essential, particularly military, supplies."

"The advancement of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, by all proper means, will not, I trust, need recommendation."

In accordance with this general recommendation, the House of Representatives passed a resolution directing the Secretary of the Treasury (Mr. Hamilton) to report to them upon the subject of manufactures, and particularly as to the means of promoting such as would tend to render the United States independent of foreign nations for military and other essential supplies; and his report was submitted in December, 1791, wherein he said:

"The expediency of manufactures in the United States, which was not long since deemed very questionable, appears at this time to be pretty generally admitted."—P. 123.

And again he said:

"A question has been made concerning the constitutional right of the government of the United States, to apply this species of encouragement, (to manufacturers,) but there is certainly no good foundation for such a question."—P. 136.

And again he said:

"It is not uncommon to meet with an opinion, that, though the promoting of manufactures may be the interest of a part of the Union, it is contrary to that of another part. The northern and southern regions are sometimes represented as having adverse interests in this respect. Those are called manufacturing, these agricultural States; and a species of opposition is imagined to subsist between the manufacturing and agricultural interests."

"Ideas of a contrariety of interests between the

northern and southern interests of the Union are, in the main, as unfounded as they are mischievous.

The diversity of circumstances on which such contrariety is usually predicated, authorizes a directly

contrary conclusion. Mutual wants constitute one

of the strongest links of

WILMINGTON JOURNAL.

Friday, Aug. 28. 1846.

Messrs. Mason & Tuttle, 38 William street,
Merchants' Exchange, New York, are our authorized agents, for this paper, in that city.

Mr. Haywood's Address.

This remarkable document has been before the people of North Carolina some days. Sufficient time has elapsed since the affair of which it speaks took place, to allow men's minds to cool. The address itself was wisely timed to come before them when a reaction might have been expected. There is little else spoken of, in connection with the political questions of the day, and before long the public voice of the State will be heard in regard to the existing tariff, believing that some of its provisions require modification.

"The general rule to be applied in graduating the duties upon articles of foreign growth or manufacture, is that which will place our own in fair competition with those of other countries; and the inducements to advance even a step beyond this point are controlling in regard to those articles which are of primary necessity in time of war. When we reflect upon the difficulty and delicacy of its operation, it is important that it should never be attempted but with the utmost caution.—

Frequent legislation in regard to any branch of industry affecting its value, and by which its capital may be transferred to new channels, must always be productive of hazardous speculation and loss.

"In deliberating, therefore, on these interesting subjects, local feelings and prejudices should be merged in the patriotic determination to promote the great interests of the whole. All attempts to connect them with the party conflicts of the day are necessarily injurious, and should be disengaged. Our action upon them should be under the control of higher and purer motives. Legislation subjected to such influences can never be just, and will not long retain the sanction of a people whose active patriotism is not bounded by sectional limits, nor insensible to that spirit of concession and forbearance which gave life to our political compact, and still sustains it. Discarding all calculations of political ascendancy, the north, the south, the east, and the west should unite in diminishing any burden of which either may justly complain.

"The agricultural interest of our country is so essentially connected with every other, and so superior in importance to them all, that it is scarcely necessary to invite to it your particular attention. It is principally as manufacturers and commerce tends to increase the value of agricultural products and to extend their application to the wants and comforts of society, that they deserve the fostering care of government.

"Looking forward to the period, not far distant, when a sinking fund will no longer be required, the duties on those articles of importation which cannot come in competition with our own production are the first that should engage the attention of Congress in the modification of the tariff. Of these, tea and coffee are the most prominent; they enter largely into the consumption of the country, and have become articles of necessity to all classes."

Extract of a message from Andrew Jackson, President of the United States, to Congress, Dec. 7, 1830.

"Among the numerous causes of congratulation, the condition of our impost revenue deserves special mention, inasmuch as it promises the means of extinguishing the public debt sooner than was anticipated, and furnishes a strong illustration of the practical effects of the present tariff upon our commercial interests.

"The object of the tariff is objected to by some as unconstitutional, and it is considered by almost all as defective in many of its parts.

"The power to impose duties on imports originally belonged to the several States. The right to adjust those duties, with a view to the encouragement of the domestic branches of industry, is so completely incidental to that power that it is difficult to suppose the existence of the one without the other. The States have delegated their whole authority over imports to the general government, without limitation or restriction, saving the very inconsiderable reservation relating to their inspection laws. This authority having thus entirely passed from the States, the right to exercise it for the purpose of protection does not exist in them; and consequently if it be not possessed by the general government, it must be extinct.

"Our political system would thus present the anomaly of a people stripped of the right to foster their own industry, and to counteract the most selfish and destructive policy which might be adopted by foreign nations. This surely cannot be the case. This indispensable power, thus surrendered by the States, must be within the scope of the authority on the subject expressly delegated to Congress.

"In this conclusion I am confirmed, as well by the opinions of Presidents Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe, who have each repeatedly recommended the exercise of this right under the constitution, as by the uniform practice of Congress, the continued acquiescence of the States, and the general understanding of the people.

"That our deliberations on this interesting subject should be uninfluenced by those partisan conflicts which are incident to free institutions, is the fervent wish of my heart. To make this great question, which unhappily so much divides and excites the public mind, subservient to the short-sighted views of faction, must destroy all hope of settling it satisfactorily to the great body of the people, and for the general interest. I cannot, therefore, in taking leave of the subject, too earnestly, for my own feelings on the common good, warn you against the blighting consequences of such a course."

Extract of a message from Andrew Jackson, President of the United States, to Congress, Dec. 6, 1831.

"The confidence with which the extinguishment of the public debt may be anticipated, presents an opportunity for carrying into effect more fully the policy in relation to import duties, which has been recommended in my former messages. A modification of the tariff, which shall produce a reduction of our revenue to the wants of the government, and an adjustment of the duties on imports, with a view to equal justice in relation to all our national interests, and to the counteraction of foreign policy, so far as it may be injurious to those interests, is deemed to be one of the principal subjects which demand the consideration of the present Congress. In the exercise of that spirit of concession and conciliation which has distinguished the friends of our Union in all great emergencies, it is believed that this object may be effected without injury to any national interest."

(To be concluded next week.)

Poor old North Carolina!—This Beaten of the Confederacy, still wants the school master. She sticks to her whiggery like the losin to her pine trees. We dispair of ever seeing her right herself, until the State devises some means of educating her population. Wonder if they have heard that Gen. Garrison was dead yet, and have not unwittingly voted for "Tip and Tyler too?" The Wilmington Journal of the 14th inst. gives election returns from many of the counties in that State, acknowledges that the democrats are "shamefully beaten," and says that the article communicating this melancholy result, is penned with "mortification and sorrow." No doubt of it, friend Journal, your columns display too much good sense and correct judgment in regard to the best interest of our common country, not to make the editor hang his head in shame, to see his friends and neighbors voting to sustain men and measures, at war with their best interests. "Never say die," how ever, rub out and "at 'em again." See what happy results are flowing from the self-sacrificing labors of missionaries in Otaheite and other heathen lands.—*Marion (Ala.) News.*

while in that of 1846 the prime cost only, constitutes the basis of valuation; shewing plainly as words can show, Mr. Haywood's model tariff more essentially free trade in its whole scope than the present, which he opposes, on the ground that it affords too little protection! We are at a loss for words to mark our sense of the enormous ingenuity discovered by this simple exposition.

Again, Mr. Haywood opposes the new tariff on the ground that, as a measure of revenue, it will not supply the treasury with sufficient means to prosecute the war with Mexico. Why, if it be a fact that low duties will decrease revenue, as Mr. Haywood seems to contend, the same objection would apply to the tariff bill of 1844, and as we have seen with even stronger force. The only way, then, in which this objection could be removed, would be by the re-enactment of such a tariff as that of 1842. But Mr. Haywood was pledged against that, and so this must also fall when objected to the new bill. It is apart from our present purpose, and would cover too much ground to shew how baseless is the doctrine for which Mr. H. here impliedly contends. His opinion in this matter is in direct opposition to that of Mr. Calhoun, the Secretary of the Treasury, and in fact the whole of the Democratic party in the Senate, and out of it, who have all along been trying to persuade us that a low tariff must ultimately increase revenue, by encouraging a larger importation, and Mr. H. being (heaven save the mark!) "a true democrat," cannot surely question one of the leading and long recognized principles of his party, and one which he has himself more than once eloquently and zealously supported.

We are sorry if the remarks we are about to make will add one sting more to Mr. Haywood's conscience. If that be half as sensitive as he pretends, it must already afflict him beyond measure.

But it is our duty as public journalists to make our opinions known in a matter in which they are expected. We have already denounced his conduct as treacherous to the party, and false to the great interest confided to his care. We have listened to his defence with patience and forbearance, and though we will perhaps contribute a little more to that notoriety which Mr. Haywood seems to desire, we are bound, however unwilling, to take him up again, and add a few, very few words, before we hand him to that bitter obscurity which will hereafter be his fate; a fate as melancholy as his fall; as damning and irretrievable as the double treachery which was its cause.

It might reasonably have been expected that, in the eleven columns over which he has spread his labored defence, Mr. Haywood, a man gifted with talents far above mediocrity; a lawyer, accustomed, through long practice, to speak on any side, would have something to say in palliation of his extraordinary conduct. We confess that, for the honor of the good Old North State, we hoped that in our first remarks we had gone too far, and fancied enough might be found in his address to vindicate his motives, if not to sustain his judgment. We thought he had been led astray, and though misled, might still be patriotic. But as if to invoke a deeper cry of execration, he has shewn a shameless act of public delinquency, to have been dictated by no single, pure, or worthy motive, and unsupported even by the ordinary ones of virtue and conscientious scruple. Nor is this all, convicted before the world, and manifestly guilty in his own estimation, he ventures, with an effrontery equalled only by the occasion, to bring himself before the Democratic party as an injured and an outraged man, and appealing to facts without their observation, and beyond the test of their enquiry, boldly claims their acquittal. Better, far better for him, had he kept silent, and trusted his fate to the influence of his friends. It was not enough that Mr. Haywood should disregard his most solemn pledges. It was not enough that he should peril the interests and the leading measure of his party; he must insult their understandings also! He has violated their confidence, and he would now abuse their credulity. It may have gratified Mr. Haywood's conceit to have observed in former instances, how opposition would bend to his will, and resistance vanish before his power, for he seemed equally strong to court and to quell them—but let him not think he stands in the same position now. We tell Mr. Haywood that he has raised a storm which he can no more control than can a bale the torrents of Niagara. This is no *Convention business*; no local matter in which to secure the aid of its intelligent citizens of N. Carolina, "thousands and tens of thousands of good North Carolina democrats, so far from having adopted it in their political creed, did not so much as hear of it until long since my election to the Senate"!!! Was ever anything equal to this? We stated we had read this long and labored defence with forbearance, and in reviewing it too, we mean to exercise the same manly virtue.

But we hasten to close this examination. Before we do so, we cannot help being struck with wonder and amazement, that notwithstanding all his fruitless efforts at amendment; notwithstanding all the repeated calls upon his patriotism, his integrity, and his sense of duty, all of which this Bill violated, Mr. Haywood would still have voted in its favor, had it only been postponed in operation a few months! "Will it be believed," says the Editor of the *Charleston Mercury*, "that this transcendent patriot, in spite of all these weighty objections, actually agreed to vote for the new tariff, provided its operation could be postponed from the 1st of December to the 1st of March?" Yet he so assures us in his Address. From the beginning to the end of his long vindication, we find his conscience and his sense of duty hanging like a nightmare over him, and disordering his mind so far as to blind him to the fact that the bill under consideration was *almost identically the same as the one he had approved and cherished as a model of a tariff*, and yet conscience and all that, did at last dwindle down into a petty objection to the day for the new tariff to go into operation! Conscience cried out for March and the bill said December! Conscience had conceded much—the rate of taxation—the principle of taxation—but when it came to the day of the month, conscience took the *studs* and would not budge an inch further.

We have now done with Mr. Haywood. We leave him where he admits he has been brought with reluctance, at the bar of his country. We are convinced that while he could have his judges more impartial or well disposed a body than the Democracy of N. Carolina they will not be satisfied with sophistry for argument, and the keen ingenuity of the advocate for the honest rectitude of the Representative. Nor let Mr. Haywood think to himself from punishment by boasting an undeserved intimacy with the councils of the President. Even the ample folds of that Executive mantle with which Jas. K. Polk has been clothed by a confiding people, cannot disguise the enormity of his offence, or screen him from the pain of its legitimate consequences.

NEWSPAPER READING.—We like occasionally to touch upon subjects which are calculated to reward to our own treasury. Whether we shall hit upon a proper method under this head or not we cannot well judge. But as we expect to clothe ourselves in a new, whiter and stronger garment, in a short time we will not offend any of our already numerous readers by quoting the opinion of a great mind on this subject, and ask our friends to reflect upon the matter, and call the attention of their neighbors and friends to it also. By so doing they may probably aid us very materially in extending the circulation of the Journal.

Sir J. Herkell says:—"Of all the amusements that can possibly be imagined for a hard-working man after his daily toil, or in its intervals, there is nothing like reading an interesting newspaper or book. It calls for no bodily exertion, of which he has already had enough; or perhaps too much. It relieves his home of its dullness and sadness. It transports him into a lively, gay, and more diversified and interesting scene; and while he enjoys himself there, he may forget the evils of the present moment full as much as if he were ever so drunk, with the great advantage of finding himself the next day with the money in his pocket, or at least laid out in real necessities and comforts

for himself and family—and without a headache. Nay, it accompanies him to his next day's work; and if what he has been reading to anything above the intellect, and lightens his task, causing him to think of, besides the mere mechanical drudgery of his every-day occupation—something he can enjoy while absent, and look toward with pleasure. If I were to pray for a taste which should stand me in stead under every variety of circumstances, and be a source of happiness and cheerfulness to me through life, and a shield against its ills, however things might go amiss, and the world frown upon me, it would be a taste for reading."—*The Journal.*

The Rail Road Resolutions.

In our last paper we published three important resolutions concerning the proposed Rail Road from Wilmington, and ventured to express an opinion adverse to the first of them. We are opposed to this hurried proceeding, and therefore rejoice that the whole matter has been postponed until October, when the tax payers of the community will be again among us—when the subject too, and the principle embodied in the resolutions, will have undergone thorough and sufficient discussion. Let it be remembered that this is a matter in which it is scarcely delicate to take part, unless we represent property. When an expression of opinion is to be had, let all join; when a tax is to be laid, we must proceed more cautiously, and let those who have most to gain or lose by the measure, take the prominent part in its discussion. Now the men who should have been at the meeting on Wednesday night, were not all there. They were at the North or at other places of summer resort, and we should wait their return. There is no use for so much hurry. Delay is not always the test of energy—fixed and resolute in the great end we propose, policy dictates that the means and the manner of effecting it should be the result of cautious, slow, deliberation. In all this matter we wish to be distinctly understood. We are friendly to the Rail Road, and always have been. No man creates more sincerely than we do, its immense advantages. No one sees more clearly the crisis at which we have arrived. No one is more heartily disposed to every thing that may conduce to the welfare of Wilmington. It is for these reasons we counsel for the present, on the subject of the first resolution, a "masterly inactivity."

The other resolutions were framed upon the unanimous opinions of the people for several years last past. It is a great wonder they have not been brought forward before. That part of Wilmington embraced within the proposed limits, has been long enjoying all the benefits of its vicinity to a town, without sustaining any of the burdens. When this Rail Road goes through, manifestly, they will be largely benefited, and it is but fair that in any general contribution like the one proposed, they should take part.

A proper assessment of the value of lands and property has been long wanting. The present one was made in 1837. Since that time, their value has largely increased.

We observe from the report of the proceedings, that a committee of five have been appointed to agree and report upon the best manner of attaining the various objects proposed by the meeting. This, of course, will bring up the whole question again, and under circumstances more favorable to a general and proper expression of popular feeling. We hope that the Committee will so frame their report as to meet the views of all. We want the Rail Road to be carried through solely by the people, if possible. We ask it as a matter of justice to the community whose sympathies have been so strongly excited; whose enthusiasm is now fairly aroused, that when the stocks are opened, as they should be now, the stock should be placed at such a price that all may be able to take a part; as all are interested, and all will benefit, we should all contribute. This is a measure equally dictated by policy and justice.

WILMINGTON, N. C.,
August 19th, 1846.

At an adjourned meeting of the citizens of Wilmington, held this evening in the Masonic Hall, Gen. James Owen was appointed Chairman, and A. Martin acted as Secretary.

The Chairman stated that the object of the present meeting was to act upon certain resolutions submitted by Gen. A. McRae, at the meeting of the 11th inst. After considerable debate, and some slight amendment offered by G. J. McRae, Esq., the following resolution was passed:

Resolved, That application be made at the coming session of the Legislature for the passage of an act authorizing the town of Wilmington to subscribe $\$1,000,000$ to the capital stock of a Rail Road, connecting said town with the South Carolina Rail Road, and also to empower said town to levy a tax, and to borrow money, if necessary, for the purpose of raising funds for such subscription. On motion of G. J. McRae, Esq.

Resolved, That a Committee of five be appointed by the Chair to agree upon the amount that the town shall be authorized to subscribe to said Rail Road, and the mode of levying the tax; and report at a meeting to be held on the third Monday in October next.

The Chairman then appointed G. J. McRae, Esq., Col. John McRae, George Davis, Henry Nutt, and J. C. Wood, said Committee. The following resolutions, previously submitted by Gen. A. McRae, were then taken up and adopted:

Resolved, That application be made to extend the limits of the said town, South five squares, or 1900 feet; North to the corner of the Campbell survey, at present owned by O. G. Parsons, Richard Bradley, and others; and East six squares, or 2376 feet; with an exterior margin around the whole of 66 feet.

Resolved, That our Representatives in the Legislature be requested to procure the passage of a general act for the assessment of property throughout the State, or, failing in that, a special enactment authorizing the town of Wilmington to assess and tax all property within the limits above specified.

The meeting then adjourned.

JAMES OWEN, Chm.

A. MARTIN, Secy.

mounted to \$45,000 per annum; and from 1st July, 1842, to the present time, it amounts to \$75,000 per annum.

It would naturally be supposed that this increase of thirty thousand dollars for carrying the mail would have elevated the receipts since 1843, above the receipts of the previous year, and especially the year 1841. But such is not the case, because we perceive in the President's report, Novr, 1843, that "the directory believed it necessary to graduate the fare to that of other channels of intercourse, and it was gradually reduced from \$90, then \$12, from Charleston to Weldon, and so continues to this time."

I have been informed at the office of the post, that \$35,000 per annum, is a fair estimate for the receipts on freight, which may be somewhat increased, but probably not enough to produce any important variation in the estimate; adding therefore \$75,000 for carrying the mail, will leave \$152,680 for passengers taking the average of \$63,679 per annum.

In consequence of her unfortunate geographical position, being tributary to South Carolina on the South-west, to Virginia on the East, and to Tennessee beyond the mountains; and her most valuable resources being undeveloped and unavailing from the want of a channel of communication with the sea board, her most intelligent, active and wealthy sons were daily swelling the stream of emigration which has already been seen to amount to \$2,045,569 96. But until the debts are all paid, it would be unreasonable for the stockholders to expect or demand a dividend. How then, they may ask, are we benefited by the road? The owner of real estate, with very few exceptions, is abundantly benefited, and amply repaid, for his investment, by the enhanced value of his property; so is the merchant by the increased business he carries on; and so are the mechanic and the laborer by the increasing demand for their services. Besides, it must be remembered that the annual amount of, say \$900,000, is disbursed in the State, and the greater part certainly in this town. This must be apparent to any person who will visit the large machine shops connected with the depot, and observe the number of machinists and other men at work.

To remedy this ruinous state of affairs, a few citizens of this town, in 1831, determined to make a vigorous and persevering effort to redeem the character of the State, and to place her on a level with her more prosperous neighbors. It was soon decided that the rail road system was the only one which was at the same time available, expedient, and efficient to accomplish that purpose. The first line that was projected, and I shall ever believe that it was the most important, was designed to connect the town of Lincoln, in Lincoln county, with some sea port on the Atlantic coast, either directly or indirectly, has produced it. There must be a feeling of deep regret mingled, however, with some pride when we reflect how many of her eminent sons have filled with honor the Gubernatorial Chair of other States, or distinguished themselves as their representatives in the Senate chamber, and in the popular branch of Congress, or as members of the Judiciary, or as consuls and ambassadors in foreign countries.

To the Editor of the Fayetteville Observer

now on a visit at the North. After spending a few days in Washington City, we find him writing from Philadelphia, under date of August 2. His Northern tour has probably been pre-meditated, as it is necessary for an occasional interchange of opinions with his Northern manufacturing associates. Perhaps he has gone to participate in the sorrows of his friends on the "ruin of the country," which the poor "locos" have brought about, as the Federal press, from Maine to Texas, with now and then an exception, would have the "dear people" believe. We doubt not his trip will be of very material service to him, in the way of gathering together and instilling into his cranium, the federal notions of northern aristocracy, which are to be promulgated during the next presidential campaign.

It was probably necessary, we say, for him to take this trip, in order that he might be the better enabled to shape his course so as to suit more fully the views and intentions of his political kindred. He has certainly already gained some very important information while on his journey; and we should not be surprised if he were to discover many more miracles since his return from this sweet northern tour, and not only gather capital for himself and kindred at home to work on, but actually anticipate the course to be pursued by the Democratic party. He has already found it necessary to defame the character of one Democratic member of Congress, and how many more he has placed upon his note book for a similar purpose, he knows best. But he need not work himself into too great a fever about who our party will run for President, or who they will not. As for Wm. H. Haywood receiving the nomination for Vice President, on a ticket with Silas Wright for President, at the North, we can assure the Editor of the *Observer* that he is entirely off the road. The Democracy of the North would never do the name of Silas Wright so much injustice as to couple it with that of Wm. H. Haywood. It

FOREIGN.

We announced in our last paper that the steamer Caledonia had arrived at Boston with news nine days later from England. We give below such items of intelligence brought out by her, as we consider of importance to our readers:—

The Liverpool papers are filled with an account of the visit of Prince Albert to that place, and the magnificent doings on the occasion.

The Cotton market was without any perceptible change, and an improvement had taken place in the manufacturing districts, in consequence of the probability of the passage of the new Tariff bill, the news of its passage in the House of Representatives having been received.

The value of iron has raised, in anticipation of a large export to the United States.

The Money market had fluctuated but little since the sailing of the last packet.

Louis Bonaparte, ex-King of Holland, died at Leghorn, of apoplexy, on the 24th ultimo, aged 67.

The Pope of Rome has granted a general amnesty to all political offenders.

The debate on the sugar duties occupied two days, and the Government scheme triumphed by a majority of 245 to 135. The result virtually abrogated the monopoly, and places sugar in the same category as corn, by an easy decision on the high road to free trade.

Sir Robert Peel gave the ministerial measure a generous support, and the greatness of the majority may be traced to that circumstance.

A Paris paper, the *Courier de France*, says that the Mexican Government has demanded of France and England their mediation to put an end to the war between that country and the United States. The departure of the *Psyche* for Vera Cruz has been delayed several days, in order that it may carry the answer to this proposition. Doubtful.

A further fall in the value of grain has taken place, and harvest operations are proceeding rapidly. The quality of the wheat is finer and the yield greater than last year.

Since the Great Western sailed, the arrival of produce has been small. Public sales are at present declining.

The business transactions on the 28th ult., were very limited. Wheat declined 2d. to 3d. per bushel, and flour 5d. per barrel, from the quotations of that day week. Indian corn was in demand for exportation to Ireland.

Mexican five per cents have fallen to 25¢, in consequence of the present critical state of affairs in that country. A meeting of the Mexican Mining Association was held in London on Wednesday, the report of which did not show a high state of prosperity. The Mexican executive had acknowledged its liabilities to the company to the extent of \$289,000, coupled with the declaration, that it was impossible at present to discharge it.

American Supplies.—The following extensive supplies of flour and other articles from the United States took place at the port of Liverpool in one day. The Nicholas Biddle, from New Orleans, brought 7000 packages of flour and 2600 staves for cooper's use; the Farewell, from Baltimore, 9630 barrels of flour and 4678 bushels of wheat; the Hardie, from New Orleans, 1478 packages of flour, 1581 bags of corn, and 307 sacks of wheat; the Robert Parker, from New York, 5283 barrels of flour, 66 of bread, and several of Indian meal; the Hargrave, from Baltimore, 5700 barrels of flour, 4000 bushels of Indian corn, 300 of lard, &c.; and the Promise, from Montreal, brought 2200 barrels of flour, 5000 bushels of wheat, and 4600 bushels of peas, the produce of Canada.

Domestic.—Wilm. & Smith's European Times says: "As we anticipated, the accession of the Whigs has produced disruption in Ireland. O'Connell and the O'Brien section of the Repealers are at loggerheads. Conciliation Hall has belied its baptismal sobriquet; it has been the scene of angry recrimination and personal malevolence. The 'row' extended over two or three days, and terminated in the withdrawal of Mr. Smith, O'Brien and the intellect of the Nation—the news paper, we must be understood to mean, of that name.

The young Irishmen, are too fast for the more matured views and adroit policy of Mr. O'Connell. They desire to cut the cable which binds them to the British connexion by force—by the sword. The "Liberator," on the contrary, is for taking matters more coolly—getting what he can for his country, and clamoring, in the supremacy of his "moral power," for the remainder. The distinction is, that O'Connell is more politic—the Young Irishmen more patriotic.

Our Army.—The news from our Army in Mexico is up to the 4th inst. The Baltimore Clipper of the 25th inst., says:—"It appears by the latest accounts from our army, that it is on the march to Monterey; where, it is stated, it will probably be received by a Mexican force of 25,000 strong, commanded by Paredes. Notwithstanding this latter information comes from an apparently authentic source, yet we must be permitted to doubt its correctness.—

We do not believe that Paredes has the ability to raise so large a force as is mentioned; and, if it be true, as has been published, that Santa Anna has sailed for Vera Cruz, we suspect that the president of the Republic, instead of marching to encounter the American Army, will either seek a treaty of peace at once, or be engaged in measures to defend himself against the ex-president. We doubt whether the internal dissension is so great, and the disinclination to engage in the war so general, that, even with the harsh measures usually adopted to recruit the army, no efficient and reliable force can be brought into the field. Monterey, will in all probability, fall into our hands without resistance; and when affairs in Mexico must come to a crisis, which will result, we presume and hope, in the adjustment of all difficulties between the two nations."

From the New Orleans Courier.

MEXICAN NEWS.

By the brig. P. Soule, Capt. Delvalle, which arrived this morning from Havana, we have received dates from that place as late as the 8th inst., from Vera Cruz of the 1st, and city of Mexico of July 23rd, which arrived at Havana by the English steamer Dee.

Captain Delvalle reports that the letters brought by the steamer, states that the town and garrison of Vera Cruz have made a pronunciamento in favour of Santa Anna, and that in consequence of this movement Santa Anna had left Havana in a hurried manner in the night of the 8th instant, on board of the English steamer Montezuma, bound for Vera Cruz.

Our dates, previously received from Vera Cruz reach to the 1st August, and they make no allusion to a pronunciamento.

We know not what effect Santa Anna's success in this new enterprise may have upon the negotiation with Mexico just about to commence.

The Mexican government issued a decree, July 10th, ordaining, that in consequence of the blockade of their ports, neutral and Mexican vessels may land their cargoes in the ports of Alvarado, Tuxpan, Gootzcooles, Soto de la Marina, and Facultad, on the Gulf, and Manzanillo on the Pacific. This decree to cease when the blockade of the ports is raised.

Vera Cruz papers of July 20th, state that the American ships anchored at Green Island, had sailed for different parts of the coast.—Some of these vessels sailed for Boca del Rio, others had anchored off Anton Lizardo. These vessels comprise the frigates Cumberland and Potomac, two small vessels, one sloop of war, and the war steamer Mississippi.

The sloop of war St. Mary's was cruising before Vera Cruz.

The following were off Sacrificios: Spanish frigate Maria Christina; English do Endymion; do barque Ross;

French brig Mercure; Spanish do Hahanero.

The English steamer Vesuvius departed from Sacrificios July 28, destination unknown.

The Republicano de Mexico, July 24, says, that on that day a communication was laid before Congress, from the General commanding in New Mexico, stating that 6000 American troops had penetrated into that province, in consequence of which orders were sent to the troops at Chihuahua and Zacatecas, to reinforce Gen. Arrijo.

A telegraph was placed on the top of the chie tower of the Castillo de San Juan de Ulloa, to announce the approach of vessels.

From the Washington Union.

IMPORTANT EROM VERA CRUZ AND CUBA!

BALTIMORE, August 21, 1846.

By the Adelaide, Adams, sailed from Havana on the 19th of July and arrived at New York yesterday. I learn that a special messenger from Vera Cruz came passenger in the steam-packet to Havana, with letters to Santa Anna informing him that the citizens and military of Vera Cruz had declared for him.

Santa Ana, Almonte, and Rejon, immediately took passage in the British steamer Ariel, and proceeded privately to Vera Cruz, on the 8th of July, in the night. Com. Conner's ship, the Potomac, got aground at Green Isle; by heaving the guns overboard she got off, and proceeded to Pensacola to be repaired. There was no sickness in the American fleet. The Truxton and Perry were off Havana, and had no communication with the shore, as the yellow fever was prevailing on the island. The city of Mexico had also declared in favor of Santa Ana. Large subscriptions were making by individuals to carry on the war. Gen. Paredes was to have left on the 29th ult., to head the army, and Gen. Bravo was to be President *ad interim*. The garrison of San Juan heartily participated in the revolution; one brigade of troops had left the city of Mexico for Matamoros, and two others were on the route to Camargo. Paredes had issued a decree authorizing the Secretary of War to grant letters of marque against the commerce of the United States. The revolutionists adopted the plan of the pronunciamento of Gaudalaxara, with some additions. Yours, &c.

FULTON.

The Union of Saturday night says, the intelligence which we give in detail from the Havana and Vera Cruz, *via* New York, shows that Santa Ana has sailed for Vera Cruz, in the British steam packet; and that the people of Vera Cruz, were preparing to receive him. Some revolutionary events may be on the wing, having an important bearing—both internal and external—upon the government of Mexico, and upon the war with the United States.

Mr. Webster able to go any way.—When Mr. Webster propounded the question once at Fanuel Hall, "where shall I go?" he was strangely puzzled to decide upon the exact locality that would suit him. How shall go seems to be a matter that does not bother him at all, if the following anecdote be true.

On Thursday last he entered the cars at Washington to proceed to the East. The seats generally were filled. Mr. Evans called out, "Webster, you can take a seat next to me."

"Why," said the Senator, "there is hardly room for two such fat men as we are."

"Never mind," rejoined Evans, "you can squeeze in."

A gentleman at the entrance of the car, seeing the dilemma, observed: "Mr. Webster, you are welcome to my seat, if you can ride backwards."

Webster looked at him for a moment, and (drawing himself up as straight as the Bonker Hill shaft, and taking off his hat, while all the passengers were looking on,) responded, in a peculiarly comical tone, "Sir, I have been going through this crooked road, so long backwards, that I can ride in any way."

The laughter that ensued was loud and long. He then took a seat with Evans, and in a few minutes the locomotive was on its way to Baltimore.—*Ledger.*

TRUTH WILL OUT.

The Newburyport Herald, a whig paper, and an advocate of the tariff of 1842, contains the following statement and remarks, under date of the 5th instant:

The New Mills.—The stockholders of the Globe and Ocean Mills, meet to-morrow, to take measures for the increase of their capital stock, so as to put the mills into immediate operation. These mills have now received and set up nearly all their machinery, and in a few weeks will be prepared for the manufacture of cloth. The size of the mills having been made larger than was originally designed; in consequence of this fact and the necessity at the present time of providing some working capital besides that invested in buildings and machinery, an increase of capital is requisite. We have made some inquiries as to the competition which these mills will encounter from the English manufacturers under the new tariff, and find that the goods they will manufacture, cost within a small fraction as much in England, as they do here. The English manufacturers work into their goods a portion of East India cotton, which costs only half as much as American cotton, and by this means sometimes undersell us in such fabrics, but the quality of the cloth in these cases is so inferior, that even the Chinese and Brazilians prefer to pay the enhanced price of American goods, except when they are deceived by the imprint of American goods, which some of the Englishmen adopt.

With a fairly levied 25 per cent duty, we believe these mills will do a better business than the navigation interest generally, especially as the domestic competition will probably be much lessened for several years to come. The machinery has all the best improvements, and intelligent and experienced agents have been appointed to superintend the manufacture.—*N. Y. Jour. of Com.*

WANTED.—A "smart," active, intelligent youth, between 13 and 15 years of age, is wanted at this office. None need apply unless he can come well recommended.

DECEASED.

In Fayetteville, on the 6th inst., Julia, second daughter of John McRae, Esq., Postmaster, aged about 13 years.

In Orange county, on the 11th inst., Mr. Edward J. Ward, late of Onslow county, aged 25. In the same county, on the 15th inst., Letitia K. Pratt, Esq., aged about 47 years, formerly a representative in the Legislature from that county.

In La Grange, Ga., on the 11th inst., Mrs. Mary Emma Bronson, aged 23 years and 3 months, consort of F. S. Bronson, M. D., formerly of Columbia, S. C. Mrs. Bronson was a native of Wilmington.

In this county, near Black River Chapel, on the 17th inst., Mr. Josiah Henry, aged 28 years.

WILMINGTON MARKET.

WHOLESALE PRICES.

BACON, 100 lbs. 6¢

Middlings, 7¢

Shoulders, 6¢

Hog round, 7¢

Western, 5¢

BEEF, 100 lbs. 10¢

Beef, bbl. meat, 90¢

prime, 80¢

CORN, 60¢

" Meal, 75¢

COFFEE, 8¢

COTTON, 5¢

CANDLES, tallow, 12¢

sperm, 20¢

Adamantine, 25¢

FEATHERS, 30¢

FLOWER, Canal, 6¢

Fayetteville, 5¢

HAT, Northern, per 100 lbs. 75¢

IRON, 47¢

LARD, 7¢

LINE, Thomastown, 87¢

LUMBER—Steam mill, 80¢

River, Flooring boards, 90¢

wide, do, 80¢

Scantling, 4¢

Timber, 50¢

MOLASSES, W. L. 21¢

MACKEREL, No 1 retail, 13¢

2, " 75¢

3, " 40¢

NAILS, 4¢

NAVAL STORES, Yellow, Turp. 2¢

Virgin dip, 2¢

hard, half price, 1¢

Tar, 140¢

Pitch, 75¢

Rosin No. 1, 100¢

" 2, 60¢

" 3, 25¢

Sp. Turp. 32¢

OIL, Sperm, 100¢

PEAS, Ground, 80¢

Cow, 65¢

PORK, per bbl.

Northern Mess, 130¢

Prime, 1075¢

RICE, 37¢

rough, bush

SALT, Turks Island, bushel, 45¢

Liverpool, sack, none

SOAP, 4¢

SHINGLES, country, 20¢

contract, 4¢

SPIRITS, Northern Rum, 23¢

Gin, 30¢

Whiskey, 23¢

Apple Brandy, 37¢

STEEL, 12¢

STAVES, W. O. bbl. rough, 15¢

